

Program and Manifesto

OF THE

CO-OPERATIVE  
COMMONWEALTH  
FEDERATION

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*A Comprehensive Statement of the Policies and  
Ideals of the C.C.F.*

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# PROGRAM and MANIFESTO OF THE C.C.F.

The C.C.F. is a federation of organizations whose purpose is the establishment in Canada of a Co-operative Commonwealth in which the basic principle regulating production, distribution and exchange will be the supplying of human needs and not the making of profits.

We aim to replace the present capitalist system, with its inherent injustice and inhumanity, by a social order from which the domination and exploitation of one class by another will be eliminated, in which economic planning will supersede unregulated private enterprise and competition, and in which genuine democratic self government, based upon economic equality will be possible. The present order is marked by glaring inequalities of wealth and opportunity, by chaotic waste and instability; and in an age of plenty it condemns the great mass of the people to poverty and insecurity. Power has become more and more concentrated into the hands of a small irresponsible minority of financiers and industrialists and to their predatory interests the majority are habitually sacrificed. When private profit is the main stimulus to economic effort our society oscillates between periods of feverish prosperity in which the main benefits go to speculators and profiteers, and of catastrophic depression, in which the common man's normal state of insecurity and hardship is accentuated. We believe that these evils can only be removed in a planned and socialized economy in which our natural resources and the principal means of production and distribution are owned, controlled and operated by the people.

The new social order at which we aim is not one in which individuality will be crushed out by a system of regimentation. Nor shall we interfere with cultural rights of racial or religious minorities. What we seek is a proper collective organization of our economic resources such as will make possible a much greater degree of leisure and a much richer individual life for every citizen.

This social and economic transformation can be brought about by political action, through the election of a government inspired by the ideal of a Co-operative Commonwealth and supported by a majority of the people. We do not believe in change by violence. We consider that both the old parties in Canada are the instruments of capitalist interests and cannot serve as agents of social reconstruction and that, whatever the superficial differences between them, they are bound to carry on government in accordance with the dictates of the big business interests who finance them. The C.C.F. aims at political power in order to put an end to this capitalist domination of our political life. It is a democratic movement, a federation of farmer, labor and socialist organizations, financed by its own members and seeking to achieve its ends solely by constitutional methods. It appeals for support to all who believe that the time has come for a far-reaching reconstruction of our economic and political institutions and who are willing to work together for the carrying out of the following policies:

## 1. PLANNING—

The establishment of a planned, socialized, economic order, in order to make possible the most efficient development of the national resources and the most equitable distribution of the national income.

The first step in this direction will be the setting up of a National Planning Commission consisting of a small body of economists, engineers and statisticians, assisted by an appropriate technical staff.

The task of the Commission will be to plan for the production, distribution and exchange of all goods and services necessary to the efficient functioning of the economy; to co-ordinate the activities of the socialized industries; to provide for a satisfactory balance between the producing and consuming power; and to carry on continuous research into all branches of the national economy in order to acquire the detailed information necessary to efficient planning.

The Commission will be responsible to the Cabinet and will work in co-operation with the Managing Boards of the Socialized Industries.

It is now certain that in every industrial country, some form of planning will replace the disintegrating capitalist system. The C.C.F. will provide that in Canada, the planning shall be done, not by a small group of capitalist magnates in their own interests, but by public servants acting in the public interest and responsible to the people as a whole.

## 2. SOCIALIZATION OF FINANCE—

Socialization of all financial machinery—banking, currency, credit, and insurance, to make possible the effective control of currency, credit and prices and the supplying of new productive equipment for socially desirable purposes.

Planning by itself will be of little use if the public authority has not the power to carry its plans into effect. Such power will require the control of finance and of all those vital industries and services, which, if they remain in private hands, can be used to thwart or corrupt the will of the public authority. Control of finance is the first step to the control of the whole economy. The chartered banks must be socialized and removed from the control of private profit-seeking interests; and the national banking system thus established must have at its head a Central Bank to control the flow of credit and the general price level and to regulate foreign exchange operations. A National Investment Board must also be set up working in co-operation with the socialized banking system to mobilize and direct the unused surpluses of production for socially desirable purposes as determined by the Planning Commission.

Insurance Companies which provide one of the main channels for the investment of individual savings, and which, under their present competitive organizations, charge needlessly high premiums for the social services that they render, must also be socialized.

## 3. SOCIAL OWNERSHIP—

Socialization (Dominion, Provincial or Municipal) of transportation, communications, electric power, and all other industries and services essential to social planning and their operation under the general direction of the Planning Commission by competent managements freed from day to day political interference.

Public utilities must be operated for the public benefit and not for the private profit of a small group of owners or financial manipulators. Our natural resources must be developed by the same methods. Such a program means the continuance and extension of the public ownership enterprises in which most governments in Canada have already gone some distance. Only by such public ownership, operating in a planned economy, can our main industries be saved from the wasteful competition or the ruinous over-development and over-capitalization which are the inevitable outcome of capitalism. Only in a regime of public ownership and operation will the full benefits accruing from centralized control and mass production be passed on to the consuming public.

Transportation, communications and electric power must come first in a list of industries to be socialized. Others, such as mining, pulp and paper and the distribution of milk, bread, coal and gasoline, in which exploitation, waste, or financial malpractices are particularly prominent must next be brought under social ownership and operation.

In restoring to the community its natural resources, and in taking over industrial enterprises from private into public control we do not propose to adopt any policy of outright confiscation. What we desire is the most stable and equitable transition to the Co-operative Commonwealth. It is impossible to decide the policies to be followed in particular cases in an uncertain future, but we insist upon certain broad principles. The welfare of the community must take supremacy over the claims of private wealth. In times of war human life has been conscripted. Should economic circumstances call for it conscription of wealth would be equally justifiable. We recognize the need for compensation in the case of individuals and institutions which must receive adequate maintenance during the transitional period before the planned economy becomes fully operative. But a C.C.F. government will not play the role of rescuing bankrupt private concerns for the benefit of promoters and of stock and bond holders. It will not pile up a dead weight burden of unremunerative debt which represents the claims upon the public treasury of a functionless owner class.

The management of publicly-owned enterprises will be vested in boards who will be appointed for their competence in the industry and will conduct each particular enterprise on efficient economic lines. The machinery of management may well vary from industry to industry, but the rigidity of Civil Service rules should

be avoided and likewise the evils of the patronage system as exemplified in so many departments of the Government today. Workers in these public industries must be free to organize in trade unions and must be given the right to participate in the management of the industry.

## 4. AGRICULTURE—

Security of tenure for the farmer upon his farm on conditions to be laid down by individual provinces; insurance against unavoidable crop failure; removal of the tariff burden from the operations of agriculture; encouragement of producers' and consumers' co-operatives; the restoration and maintenance of an equitable relationship between prices of agricultural products and those of other commodities and services; and improving the efficiency of export trade in farm products.

The security of tenure for the farmer upon his farm, which is imperilled by the present disastrous situation of the whole industry, together with adequate social insurance ought to be guaranteed under equitable conditions.

The prosperity of agriculture, the greatest Canadian industry, depends upon a rising volume of purchasing power of the masses in Canada for all farm goods consumed at home, and upon the maintenance of large scale exports of the staple commodities at satisfactory prices on equitable commodity exchange.

The intense depression in agriculture today is a consequence of (1) Economic nationalism expressing itself in tariff barriers and other restrictions of world trade; (2) The decreased purchasing power of unemployed and under-employed workers and of the Canadian people in general; (3) The exploitation of both primary producers and consumers by monopolistic corporations who absorb a great proportion of the selling price of farm products. (This last is true for example of the distribution of milk and dairy products, the packing industry and milling.)

The immediate cause of agricultural depression is the catastrophic fall in the world prices of foodstuffs as compared with other prices, this being due in large measure to the deflation of currency and credit. To counteract the worst effect of this the internal price level should be raised so that the farmers' purchasing power may be restored.

We propose therefore:

(1) The improvement of the position of the farmer by the increase of purchasing power made possible by the social control of the financial system. This control must be directed towards the increase of employment as laid down elsewhere, and towards raising the prices of farm commodities by appropriate credit and foreign exchange policies.

(2) Whilst the family farm is the accepted basis for agricultural production in Canada, the position of the farmer may be much improved by—  
(a) the extension of consumers' co-operatives for the purchase of farm supplies and domestic requirements; and

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(b) the extension of co-operative institutions for the processing and marketing of farm products.

Both of the foregoing to have suitable state encouragement and assistance.

(3) The adoption of a planned system of agricultural development based upon scientific soil surveys directed towards better land utilization and a scientific policy of agricultural development for the whole of Canada.

(4) The substitution for the present system of foreign trade of a system of import and export boards to improve the efficiency of overseas marketing, to control prices, and to integrate the foreign trade policy with the requirements of the national economic plan.

### 5. EXTERNAL TRADE—

The regulation in accordance with the National plan of external trade through import and export boards.

Canada is dependent on external sources of supply for many of her essential requirements of raw materials and manufactured products. These she can obtain only by large exports of the goods she is best fitted to produce. The strangling of our export trade by insane protectionist policies must be brought to an end. But the old controversies between free traders and protectionists are now largely obsolete. In a world of nationally organized economies Canada must organize the buying and selling of her main imports and exports under public boards and take steps to regulate the flow of less important commodities by a system of licenses. By so doing she will be enabled to make the best trade agreements possible with foreign countries, put a stop to the exploitation of both primary producer and ultimate consumer, make possible the co-ordination of internal processing, transportation and marketing of farm products, and facilitate the establishment of stable prices for such export commodities.

### 6. CO-OPERATIVE INSTITUTIONS—

The encouragement by the public authority of both producers' and consumers' co-operative institutions.

In agriculture as already mentioned, the primary producer can receive a larger net revenue through co-operative organization of purchases and marketing. Similarly in retail distribution of staple commodities such as milk, there is room for development both of public municipal operation and of consumers' co-operatives, and such co-operative organization can be extended into wholesale distribution and into manufacturing. Co-operative enterprises should be assisted by the state through appropriate legislation and through the provisions of adequate credit facilities.

### 7. LABOR CODE—

A National Labor Code to secure for the worker maximum income and leisure, insurance covering illness, accident, old age, and unemployment, freedom of association and an effective participation in the management of his industry or profession.

The spectre of poverty and insecurity which still haunts every worker, though technological developments have made possible a high standard

of living for everyone, is a disgrace which must be removed from our civilization. The community must organize its resources to effect progressive reduction of the hours of work in accordance with technological development and to provide a constantly rising standard of life to everyone who is willing to work. A labor code must be developed which will include state regulation of all wages, equal reward and equal opportunity of advancement for equal services, irrespective of sex, measures to guarantee the right to work or the right to maintenance through stabilization of employment and through unemployment insurance, social insurance to protect workers and their families against the hazards of sickness, death, industrial accident and old age, limitation of hours of work and protection of health and safety in industry. Both wages and insurance benefits should be varied in accordance with family needs.

In addition workers must be granted the undisputed right to freedom of association, and they should be encouraged and assisted by the state to organize themselves in trade unions. By means of collective agreements and participation in works councils, the workers can achieve fair working rules and share in the control of industry and professions; and their organizations will be indispensable elements in a system of genuine industrial democracy.

The labor code should be uniform throughout the country. But the achievement of this end is difficult so long as jurisdiction over labor legislation under the B.N.A. Act is mainly in the hands of the provinces. It is urgently necessary, therefore, that the B.N.A. Act be amended to make such a national labor code possible.

### 8. SOCIALIZED HEALTH SERVICES—

Publicly organized health, hospital and medical services.

With the advance of medical science the maintenance of a healthy population has become a function for which every civilized community should undertake responsibility. Health services should be made at least as freely available as are educational services today. But under a system which is still mainly one of private enterprise the costs of proper medical care, such as the wealthier members of society can easily afford, are at present prohibitive for great masses of the people. A properly organized system of public health services including medical and dental care, which would stress the prevention rather than the cure of illness, should be extended to all our people in both rural and urban areas. This is an enterprise in which Dominion, Provincial and Municipal authorities, as well as the medical and dental professions, can co-operate.

### 9. B.N.A. ACT—

The amendment of the Canadian Constitution, without infringing upon racial or religious minority rights or upon legitimate provincial claims to autonomy so as to give the Dominion Government adequate powers to deal effectively with urgent economic problems which are essentially national in scope; the abolition of the Canadian Senate.

We propose that the necessary amendment to the B.N.A. Act shall be obtained as speedily as required,

safeguards being inserted to ensure that the existing rights of racial and religious minorities shall not be changed without their own consent. What is chiefly needed today is the placing in the hands of the national government of more power to control national economic development. In a rapidly changing economic environment our political constitution must be reasonably flexible. The present division of powers between Dominion and Provinces reflects the conditions of a pioneer, mainly agricultural, community in 1867. Our constitution must be brought into line with the increasing industrialization of the country and the consequent centralization of economic and financial power which has taken place in the last two generations. The principle laid down in the Quebec Resolutions of the Fathers of Confederation, should be applied to the conditions of 1933, that "there be a general government charged with matters of common interest to the whole country and local governments for each of the provinces charged with the control of local matters in their respective sections."

The Canadian Senate, which was originally created to protect provincial rights, has developed into a bulwark of capitalist interests, as is illustrated by the large number of company directorships held by its aged members. In its peculiar composition of a fixed number of members appointed for life it is one of the most reactionary assemblies in the civilized world. It is a standing obstacle to all progressive legislation, and the only permanently satisfactory method of dealing with the constitutional difficulties it creates is to abolish it.

### 10. EXTERNAL RELATIONS—

A Foreign Policy designed to obtain international economic co-operation and to promote disarmament and world peace.

Canada has a vital interest in world peace. She would therefore do everything in her power to advance the idea of international co-operation as represented by the League of Nations and the International Labor Organization. She should extend her diplomatic machinery for keeping in touch with the main centres of world interest. But we believe that genuine international co-operation is incompatible with the capitalist regime which is in force in most countries and that strenuous efforts are needed to rescue the League from its present condition of being mainly a league of capitalist Great Powers. We stand resolutely against all participation in imperialist wars. Within the British Commonwealth, Canada must maintain her autonomy as a completely self-governing nation. We must resist all attempts to build up a new economic British Empire in place of the old political one, since such attempts readily lend themselves to the purposes of capitalist exploitation and may easily lead to further world wars. Canada must refuse to be entangled in any more wars fought to make the world safe for capitalism.

### 11. TAXATION AND PUBLIC FINANCE—

A new taxation policy designed not only to raise public revenues but also to lessen the glaring inequalities of income and to provide funds for social services and the socialization of industry; the cessation of the debt-creating system of Public Finance.

In the type of economy that we envisage the need for taxation, as we now understand it, will have largely disappeared. It will nevertheless be essential, during the transition period, to use the taxing powers, along with the other methods proposed elsewhere, as a means for providing for the socialization of industry, and for extending the benefits of increased social services.

At the present time capitalist governments in Canada raise a large proportion of their revenues from such levies as customs duties and sales taxes the main burden of which falls upon the masses. In place of such taxes upon articles of general consumption, we propose a drastic extension of income, corporation and inheritance taxes, steeply graduated according to ability to pay. Full publicity must be given to income tax payments and our tax collection system must be brought up to the English standard of efficiency.

We also believe in the necessity for an immediate revision of the basis of Dominion and Provincial sources of revenues, so as to produce a co-ordinated and equitable system of taxation throughout Canada.

An inevitable defect of the capitalist system is the debt-creating character of public financing. All public debts have enormously increased and the fixed interest charges paid thereon now amounts to the largest single item of so-called uncontrollable public expenditures. The C.C.F. proposes that in future no public financing shall be permitted which facilitates the perpetuation of the parasitic interest-receiving class; that capital shall be provided through the medium of the National Investment Board and free from perpetual interest charges.

We propose that all public works, as directed by the Planning Commission, shall be financed by the issuance of credit as suggested based upon the national wealth of Canada.

### 12. FREEDOM—

Freedom of speech and assembly for all; repeal of Section 98 of the Criminal Code; amendment of the Immigration Act to prevent the present inhuman policy of deportation; equal treatment before the law of all residents of Canada irrespective of race, nationality or religious or political beliefs.

In recent years, Canada has seen an alarming growth of Fascist tendencies among all governmental authorities. The most elementary rights of freedom of speech and assembly have been arbitrarily denied to workers and to all whose political and social views do not meet with the approval of those in power. The lawless and brutal conduct of the police in certain centres in preventing public meetings and in dealing with political prisoners must cease. Section 98 of the Criminal Code, which has been used as a weapon of political oppression by a panic-stricken capitalist government must be wiped off the statute book and those who have been imprisoned under it must be released. An end must be put to the inhuman practice of deporting immigrants who were brought to this country by immigration propaganda and now, through no fault of their own, find themselves victims of an executive department against whom there is no appeal to the courts of the land. We stand for full economic and political liberty for all.

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### 13. SOCIAL JUSTICE—

The establishment of a commission composed of psychiatrists, psychologists, socially minded jurists and social workers to deal with all matters pertaining to crime and punishment and the general administration of law in order to humanize the law and to bring it into harmony with the needs of the people.

While the removal of economic inequality will do much to overcome the most glaring injustices in the treatment of those who come into conflict with the law, our present archaic system must be changed and brought into accordance with a modern concept of human relationships. This new system must not be based, as is the present one, upon vengeance and fear, but upon an understanding of human behavior. For this reason its planning and control can not be left in the hands of those steeped in an outworn legal tradition; and therefore it is proposed that there shall be established a national commission composed of psychiatrists, psychologists, socially minded jurists and social workers whose duty it shall be to devise a system of prevention and correction consistent with other features of the new social order.

### 14. AN EMERGENCY PROGRAM—

The assumption by the Dominion Government of direct responsibility for dealing with the present critical unemployment situation and for tendering suitable work or adequate maintenance, the adoption of measures to relieve the extremity of the crisis such as a program of public spending on housing, and other enterprises that will increase the real wealth of Canada to be financed by the issue of credit based on the national wealth.

The extent of unemployment and the widespread suffering which it has caused creates a situation with which provincial and municipal governments have long been unable to cope, and forces upon the Dominion government direct responsibility for dealing with the crisis as the only authority with financial resources adequate to meet the situation. Unemployed workers must be secured in the tenure of their homes, and the scale and methods of relief at present altogether inadequate, must be such as to preserve decent human standards of living.

It is recognized that even after a Co-operative Commonwealth Federation Government has come into power a certain period of time must elapse before the planned economy can be fully worked out. During this brief transitional period, we propose to provide work and purchasing power for those now unemployed by a far-reaching program of public expenditure on housing, slum clearance, hospitals, libraries, schools, community halls, parks, playgrounds, reforestation, rural electrification, the elimination of grade crossings, and other similar projects in both town and country. This program, which would be financed by the issuance of credit based on the national wealth, would serve the double purpose of creating employment and meeting recognized social needs. Any steps which the Government takes, under this emergency program, which may assist private business, must include guarantees of adequate wages and reasonable hours of work, and must be de-

signed to further the advance towards the complete co-operative commonwealth.

Emergency measures, however, are of only temporary value. For the present depression is a sign of the mortal sickness of the whole capitalist system, and this sickness cannot be cured by the application of salves. These leave untouched the cancer which is eating at the heart of our society, namely, the economic system in which our natural resources and our principal means of production and distribution are owned, controlled, and operated for the private profit of a small proportion of our population.

No C. C. F. Government will rest content until it has eradicated capitalism and put into operation the full program of socialized planning which will lead to the establishment in Canada of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

# IMMEDIATE PROGRAM

*Adopted at Winnipeg Convention, July, 1934*

The C.C.F. stands for a complete change in our present economic system by the establishment of a planned and socialized economy through constitutional means.

In our Regina manifesto issued in 1933 we set forth in detail the program by which we propose to realize that end. In order to remove the poverty and insecurity now endured by the people, and to lay the foundation of the new social order a C.C.F. Government will immediately proceed to enact legislation dealing with the major problems of the nation as follows:

1. *Finance*: The C.C.F. is against the private monopoly and control of financial institutions. A C.C.F. Government will release the community from this control by the socialization of all our banking and financial machinery including the Central Bank. As a first step towards a just distribution of national wealth it will use this publicly-controlled system to begin at once an extensive program of socially useful public works and services financed by national credit.

2. *Agriculture*: The C.C.F. through co-operation with the provinces, or by amendment to the B.N.A. Act if necessary, will protect the farmer from foreclosures or eviction under pressure of mortgage companies and other creditors and from exploitation by packers, millers, dairy corporations and others.

After taking immediate steps to prevent foreclosures, the C.C.F. will bring relief by reduction of existing debts of the farmer to a point which, while guaranteeing him a decent standard of living, would enable him to free himself from debt in a reasonable time; to establish an effective publicly owned rural credit system for the purpose of providing adequate credit facilities to agriculture; to promote a planned extension of markets for farm products; to provide insurance for unavoidable crop failure; to encourage all consumers' and producers' co-operatives and to initiate immediate legislation for the control of processing and distribution of farm products, pending their being taken over by the co-operatives or the state.

3. *Labor and Social Services*: The C.C.F. will bring to an end the system which makes poverty and insecurity the prevailing condition of the workers in this land of plenty, and as a preliminary to this will initiate an immediate large scale program of socially useful public works, including especially a general housing scheme financed by public credit.

The C.C.F. will prevent foreclosure or eviction of the worker from his home.

The C.C.F. will establish, by amendment of the B.N.A. Act if necessary, a national minimum wage and regulation of hours of labor in industry; and guarantee the workers' right to employment, and to organize and negotiate agreements through their chosen representatives.

The C.C.F. does not propose to give any endorsement to any negotiating organization sponsored by employers of labor.

The C.C.F. will start at once a national system of social insurance to provide for the continuous maintenance of decent standards of living, for every Canadian family.

The C.C.F. having regard to the tragedy which has overtaken youth as a result of the so-called depression will provide special facilities for cultural and technical education and training to enable young men and women to fit into the re-organized social life.

4. *Peace*: We recognize that modern war arises primarily from the clash of interests in a world economy based on competition; therefore the establishment of permanent world peace depends on abolishing competition and on building the Co-operative Commonwealth.

The C.C.F. is unalterably opposed to war. If the great capitalist powers drift into another world war Canadian neutrality must be rigorously maintained whoever the belligerents may be. Canada must refuse to give military assistance to the League of Nations as at present constituted. We stand for the thorough re-organization of the League in order to make it an effective instrument for peace.

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